/428 cont./

302 386 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as imi and more often tawua, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is collected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

[317] [415]

/428 cont./

302 386 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

302 413 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talaxikamána in the dialect of the west, puscitákutasena in the central dialect, derived from ikamana, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, čiexaus. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

445 237 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yái or yáiyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álakus yáiyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

445 237 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tumárapu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuśake, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

302 822 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (q):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 331 also relies.

/430 cont./

302 has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their signifi-
822 cance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general incentives will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

•[415]

Fig. 20. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

302 Without doubt Aspinall:270 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (g):33, women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /431/ Both Bridges and Hyades (q):349 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a pastime" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorns himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (112). He

112. With little accuracy Bove (e):157 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways;

/450 cont./

506 to a high flame. This must be avoided at all costs, so that the
372 side walls will not be endangered. A moderate glow without a
501 leaping flame suffices.

505 The firewood is kept partly near the hearth, af, partly in
372 the stern. It has been stacked in orderly fashion to save space. The people of the west must always take along large amounts of wood; a small supply is adequate for the people of the east, which they pile up near the hearth. Wherever the latter land, they easily find dry driftwood, whereas the former cannot count on this. Quite dry wood has been carefully chosen for the trip, since damp wood causes smoke which the occupants in the cramped canoe can hardly evade. As a matter of course they leave the wood of Drimys winteri, which gives off a thick, biting smoke, behind on the shore.

The girls squat near the fire and tend it according to instructions from their mother. It is their task before the departure to carry a glowing log from the hut-fire to the hearth in the canoe and to fan a new flame. When they land, another glowing stick of wood from the canoe serves to kindle the fire in the newly erected hut. With scrupulous care they extinguish every spark from the fire in the vessel so that there is no danger of its bursting into flames.

501 Even the most careful canoe construction does not prevent
415 some water from constantly oozing in between the seams (139).

139. In Wieghardt:31 and elsewhere we read: "So much water constantly comes in that the people continually have to bail it out" /translated from Spanish/.

It collects near the hearth at a place that has been purposely left open, that is, the space of a hand's breadth between the loosely laid bark pieces, ilax. The girls bail it out with a special scoop made either of bark or seal leather. For both kinds one first cuts out a rectangular piece which is then bent, the bark piece in the direction of its longitudinal fibers. After the two straight edges are joined with a strip of whalebone or a few rushes, making a seam, a bottom is cut out to fit this cylinder, which is also sewed on. Not infrequently a small handle of rushes is added in the

/450 cont./

501 center of the longitudinal seam. Such a túku does not have to be
415 made watertight; small amounts can easily be scooped out if one uses it often and quickly. The girls /451/ even find this to be fun. The size and diameter of this scoop (Fig. 30) are a matter of chance. Some are 12 centimeters, others 22 centimeters high, and most of them fall between these two sizes. The leather ones are more durable than those commonly used made from the bark of Drimys winteri or Maytenus magellanica. The latter, however, are easier to hold (140). Several of these scoops lie about in every canoe.

140. Hyades (q):307 gives several details about these scoops. To speak of "shovels made of tree-bark," as Bove (e):157 does, is not correct. See Lothrop (b):147.

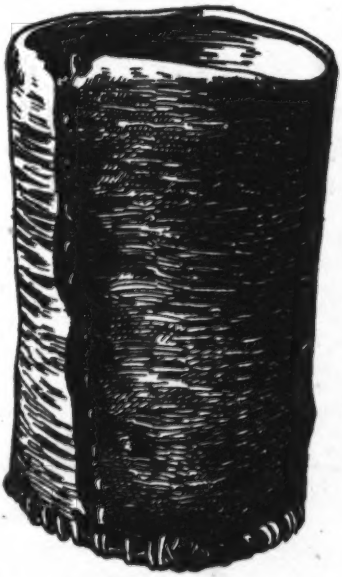

Fig. 30. Scoop Made of Drimys Bark. One-half natural size.

/Fig. 30 appears here./

501 The last item of the accessories
283 that we must mention, which, however, is sometimes lacking, is the rope of rush stalks that Hyades (q):414 calls "plait of rushes" /translated from French/. It is a simple braid of three

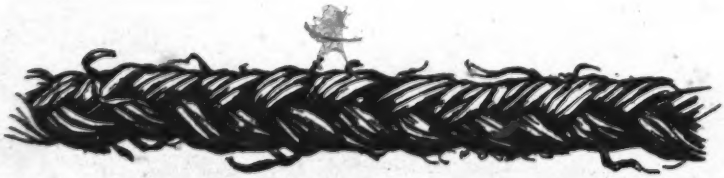

Fig. 31. Rope Made of Marsippospermum. One-half natural size.

strands and is at least 160 centimeters long (Fig. 31). There is a knot at either end to keep it from becoming unbraided. This rope

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

281 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/499 cont./

281 means of a rotting process. She makes the piece still softer and more pliable by manipulating and kneading it with both hands. Then follows the removal of irregular edges and finally cutting it to size, according to the object that is to be made.

281 415 We need not describe again the body covering and how it is made. The many bags, pouches, and sacks of all sizes have a uniform shape; they are commonly longish and deep. This follows naturally from the way they originate. Out of a large scrap of leather the Indian woman cuts a somewhat longish rectangle and folds it so that the two narrow edges come together. These are meant for the upper rim of the bag. Then, with a rather thick sinew, she makes a whipstitch seam on the right and left sides and the bag is closed. Two, three, or four holes are pierced along the upper edge, and a short handle is attached through them. This is usually a narrow strap, but it may be a braided cord made of sinews or rushes (Fig. 47). No matter how tightly the thread of the seams is pulled, the bag nevertheless leaks if it is filled with water. After long use, however, fine particles of dirt lodge in the seams, which act as calking.

Fig. 47. Leather Bag.

These leather bags, ĺáša, are, of course, of different sizes, but they are not noticeably different in shape. We can say that

/499 cont./

281 415 for certain purposes approximately the same measurements are used, sometimes even the same type of leather (211). For storing the /500/

211. Lothrop (b):133 also mentions the various uses of individual bags.

fire-making apparatus, the Indians prefer a small pouch, gēsánux, of guanaco leather, about ten centimeters wide and deep. It is either tied shut at the top like a sack, or a short flap is left on when it is cut out, and this is flipped over the opening, whereupon a sinew is wound crosswise around the whole thing. It is important, however, to leave the fur on; it prevents the leather from getting soaked and thus ruining the contents. A somewhat larger but similar pouch is commonly used to store pigments. The man keeps his long harpoon points made of whale bone in a deeper, narrow leather bag, his tools and odds and ends in a wider, shorter bag. The woman puts her ornaments and implements in a large, wide leather bag with a handle.

281 Straps and ropes are also cut out of leather. The long lasso, úkeša, for the large harpoon (Fig. 35) and for other purposes (212)

212. As is well known, it serves many purposes in the hunt for food, a fact which Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed. The Selk'nam also use it (Vol. I, 254). BD:79 describes it as "a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes" /cited in English/.

requires a great deal of work. It is made from the thick skin of the adult male bear seal, tēpē̆a, (Arctocephalus australis). The work is begun immediately after the woman has removed the layer of hair by the above-mentioned fermenting process (p. 71). The man spreads the very soft skin flat on the ground, punches a hole in the center, and, with sharpened shells of Solen, cuts a strip as wide as a finger in unbroken concentric circles from the center until he has used up the skin. Then he ties one end to a tree trunk and pulls the entire long strip of skin against other trunks, stretching it as much as possible. The tension is, of

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

281 The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
482 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the excessive dampness.

213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

[276]

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, mínus. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

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415

/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáj (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kāla, xála, and a smaller, tūku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kāla, "a bark bucket," and tūkū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyúšu xála in the western dialect, and áta, xála in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of [824] Drimys winteri and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/502 cont./

415 322 bottom. /Fig. 48 appears here./

In order to prevent irregular curling and deep splits in the damp bark of the newly finished kā́la, they stuff wet moss mixed with fresh grass into it, exerting considerable pressure, and filling the entire bucket with it. Moreover, they avoid having it heated unevenly by the hut fire or by the sun. Along with the wet filler, the bark dries very gradually, preserves its shape, and keeps perfectly for a long time. In the case of the large bark receptacles, they sometimes press a few extra small moss plants between the individual seams as filler (215).

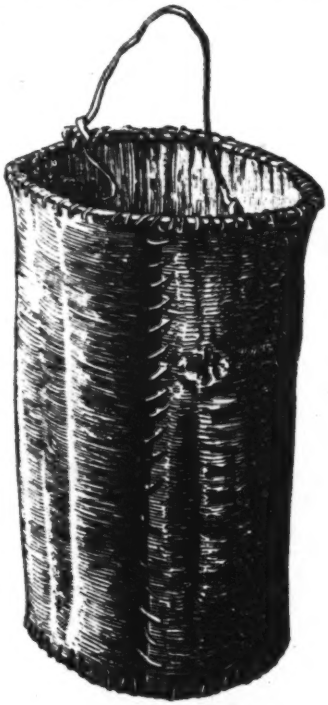

Fig. 48. Bark Pail.

215. Lothrop (b):132 mentions: "In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf" /cited in English/. I cannot confirm this statement from my own experience; there does not seem to be a difference.

415 The small bark receptacles are used as cups and water dippers; they have no other use. All kinds of implements are sometimes temporarily stuffed into the large buckets that hold at least five liters, but their real purpose is to serve as containers for water. This not so much for people who have settled down in a hut on the shore as for those who are setting out for a trip in their canoe. Although it may sound unbelievable, tight bark buckets actually hold a small amount of water for several hours. The older girls primarily take care of scooping out the water that oozes into the canoe with their little bark receptacles; they also fetch drinking

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

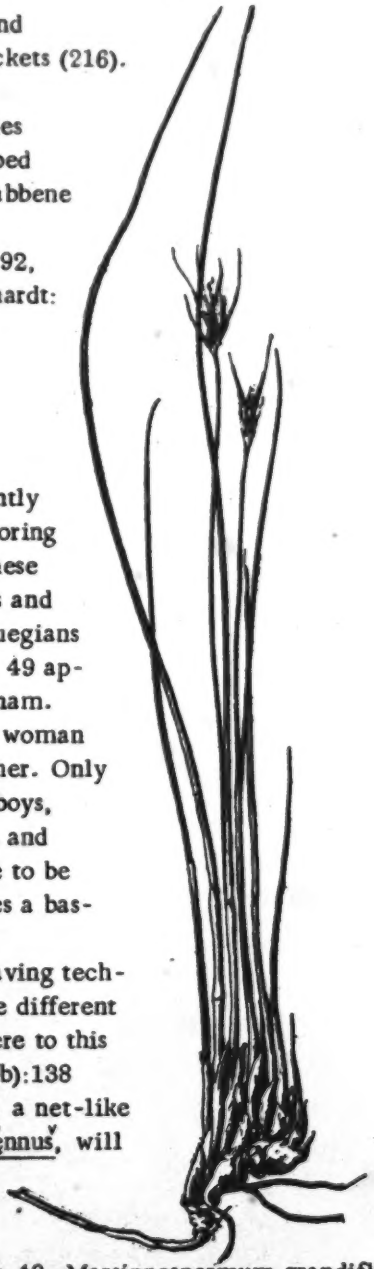

Fig. 49. Marsipposperɯum grandiflorum.

/568 cont./

252 Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

> 330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking [445] for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

147 Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

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whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

271 The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (339). The extraordinary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /573/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

339. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much; I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

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● 415

This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, émbalim (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

/573 cont./

271 516 445 [illegible] cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the sponsor puts it on the ulwala /candidate/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube at a brook. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoungounsis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 445 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/574 cont./

271 445 881 any. The candidates in the cíexaus, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/581 cont./

252 These are emergency situations, however, which Fitz-Roy (a):184 has characterized as follows: "When there is time, the natives roast their shell-fish, and half-roast any other food that is of a solid nature; but when in haste, they eat fish, as well as meat, in a raw state" /cited in English/. As confirmation, we finally have the testimony of the catechist Lewis: "During the whole twenty years in which I have known them I have never seen or heard of a Fuegian eating even a piece of raw meat or uncooked mussel. The latter shellfish is the staff of life with them, but they always cook them, and never eat raw meat. Their food is grilled on the embers or baked in the ashes of the fire" /cited in English/ (MM: XII, 248;1878) (354). This alone proves the significance of the

354. Compared to the many definite assertions of conscientious observers, the vague words of Lovisato (b):151 and Outes (g):52, for example, lose all their reliability.

fire, which each family constantly maintains, even in the canoe, during their journeys which are usually long (p. 43).

/582/ They are content with merely the action of heat and fire on their food; it is impossible to do more with it because pots and vessels are lacking. There is no actual cooking (355).

•[415]

355. If someone should happen to need something warm, he fills a large Voluta snail shell, places it in the ashes, and puts a few small stones which have been heated in the fire into the shell with fire tongs. In this process, of course, the water never evaporates, hence it would not be suitable for cooking meat or vegetables.

[412]

At the same time it is impossible to use spices and condiments. If they were added, they would disappear in the fire. I can only repeat with Hyades (p):328 that "intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substances are not known" /translated from French/.

/911 cont./

Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hŏhohohohŏ in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uĭwĭala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetĭja. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetĭja himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kĕlpĭf [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uĭwĭala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetĭja is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

/914 cont./

X881 264 into the Tsimsyan but for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō hō. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō hō. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

• [415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uwāla but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 357 6. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Tsimsyan who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the Tsimsyan hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

/963 cont./
the ulwfala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the tšikaxa hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/963/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the ulwfala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the tšikaxa hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot accuse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long period of the tšikaxa trial they have successfully led their hekakmeqlan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone tenhelim (tšwlim), through which, day after day, he has sucked sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also receives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

881 608 431 515 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little stick after their dismissal from the čiéxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

881 608 431 415 /954/ A third and final gift of less significance than the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her hétakuxeolan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

881 608 431 The ward receives these three items as mementos. They are first of all supposed to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiéxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswíala shows each

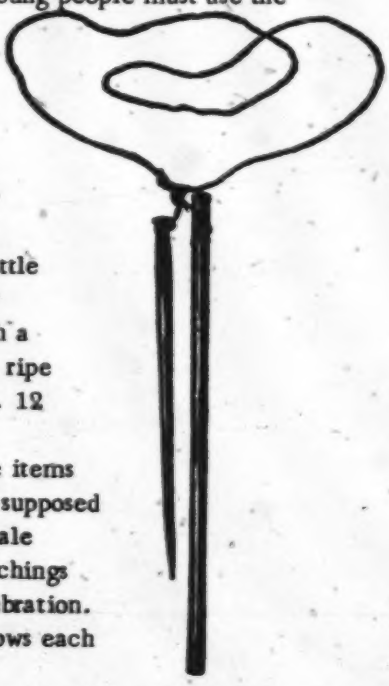

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

881 524 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/1462 cont./

832 that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana; Spegazzini (a):165 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornaments are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1463/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

[285 415]

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wālāpūtas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

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262 Lothrop (1928, p. 32) rated the relative importance in the *Yahgan* dietary of their foods as follows: (1) Easily of first importance, mussels; (2) next, seals, and fish of many kinds; (3) next, porpoises, gulls, and bird eggs; (4) then, whales, limpets, crabs, sea urchins, geese, penguins, cormorants; (5) last and least, otter (chiefly in the west), guanaco (only in the east), conchs, ducks, berries (especially wild black currants). The fungi eaten were those growing on trees; those growing on the ground were not eaten. Some wild celery and wild parsnips and two varieties of cress and young shoots of tussock grass were also eaten. Foxes were eaten only in famine as a last [263] resort. Salt was not used.

225 **Hunting.**—Seals were hunted with spear or harpoon from canoes or from land (pl. 36), or killed with clubs. Whales were occasionally hunted in the open sea with spear or harpoon; stranded or dead whales were eagerly exploited. Dogs helped in otter and fox hunting.

223 Cormorants were taken at night by torchlight with clubs; also with a pronged wooden gorge hook. Birds were taken with pole snares (fig. 11, *d*) and with single or multiple tether snares of sinew or whalebone. No lifting pole snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls are reported.

226 **Fishing and sea-food gathering.**—Mussels were gathered by hand; limpets, with a flat-ended stick; sea urchins, with a four-pronged wooden fork; crabs and other Crustacea, with a harpoon or a three-pronged stick. For taking sea food, the *Yahgan* also used a spear with two diverging shanks, or two to four spears lashed together. Women fished with a kelp-stem or braided whale-sinew line, that had a slipknot of whalebone or of quill at the end, instead of a hook, to hold the bait; slowly drawing the fish to the surface, they would grab it by hand. Fishhooks were probably lacking. Weirs of branches or stakes were used. True fish nets were absent. The nearest approach thereto was a small basket attached to the end of a pole and used as a sort of dip net for diminutive fish.

251 **Food storage.**—Limited quantities of dried tree fungi were stored; so too was oil, especially whale and seal oil.

415 **Food preparation and eating.**—Large mussel shells were used for [252] melting fat and holding grease. Water was heated and grease melted by throwing hot stones into them, but there is no record of stone boiling proper.

Shells of large mussels were sometimes used as plates; shells or bark buckets as cups; hollow bird bones or reeds as drinking tubes.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

361 There were no permanent villages. Certain groups of natives re-
621 lated apparently by blood and marriage frequented and occupied more or less fixed separate localities within the respective five sub-

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of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 142–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

String-making and sewing.—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

Basketry.—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

Skin dressing.—No process of dressing proper is reported. Seal-skins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

Stoneworking.—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

Containers.—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* [179] most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–263; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

864 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and mutely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

1. FIRE-MAKING APPARATUS.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*s'wálli*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Aníawaía between Lapataía and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asánu* (fig. 53, *b*).

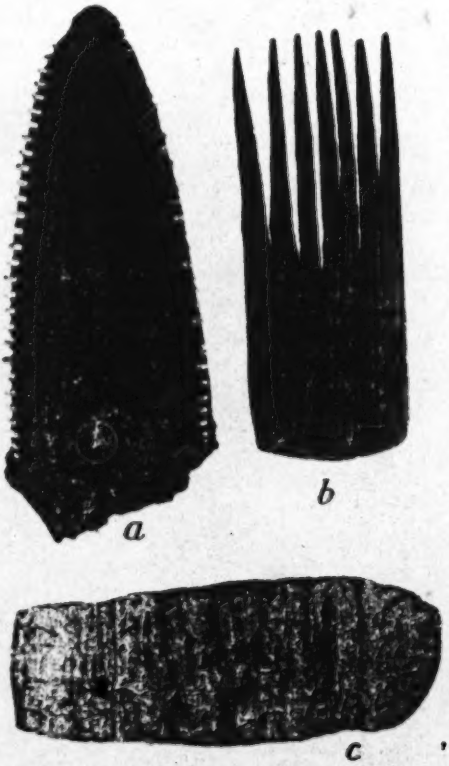

FIG. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5¼ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8½ in. (14/2369)

2. FIRE-TONGS. — For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*láka* in Yahgan,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor.

3. HAMMER AND GREASE STONE.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. BROOM.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

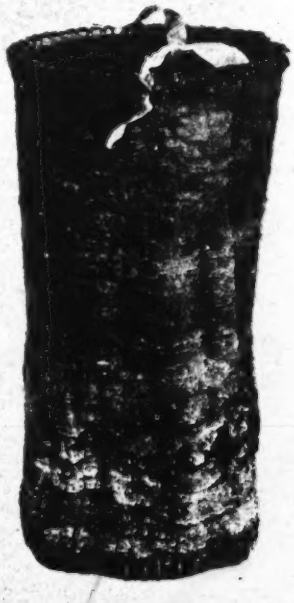

FIG. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267)

5. COMB.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushtánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*.

[302]

6. SPATULA.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákikamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

415 ●
322

7. BUCKET.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atakála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*téshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec-

[412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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tangular piece was cut for the sides and a circular piece for the bottom of the bucket. Narrow strips of whalebone were then scraped thin and pliable, and the bottom and sides were sewn tightly together (fig. 56, *b*). Around the inside of the lip a strip

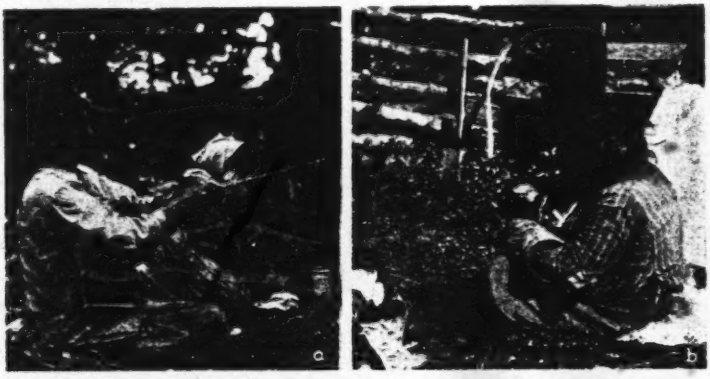

FIG. 56.—Yahgan women. *a*, Rope-making; *b*, Making a bark bucket.

of wood—*leña dura*, Winter's bark, or barberry—was introduced to give additional strength and to prevent the bark from splitting. Finally a hide thong was attached to serve as a handle, and the whole outside was painted red.

In general the Yahgan buckets are taller in proportion to their width than those of the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf seem to have been better craftsmen than the Yahgan, hence their buckets are usually more neatly finished.

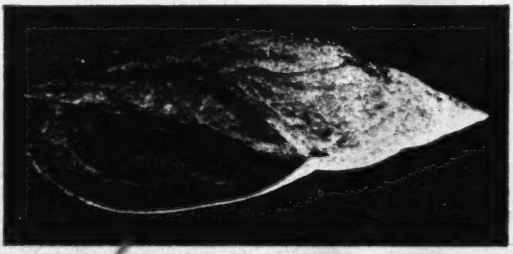

FIG. 57.—Yahgan shell cup. Length, 6¼ in. (14/2372)

8. CUP.—A Yahgan refinement over the Ona is the use of a shell cup (*auflán*). As seen in fig. 57, this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified. Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket, but would have been of little service in removing water from the Ona skin water-bag.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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9. POUCHES AND BAGS.—For storage the Yahgan used various pouches, bags, and baskets. While there seems to have been a tendency to employ the most readily available material, at the same time certain definite types of bags were normally used for distinct purposes. For general storage, bags were made from the skins of the seal, penguin, and guanaco. For keeping the fire-making apparatus, a small guanaco-hide bag covered with red paint was used (fig. 53, *b*). A larger bag of guanaco-hide (*humulúf*) covered with white paint was employed by the shaman to store his ritualistic paraphernalia (fig. 94). For porpoise- or whale-oil, containers were made from water-proof substances, such as seal-gut (*kália*), seal-bladder (*athhlaháni*), or a species of giant kelp (*shówen*) which grows around the seaward islands. In fig. 58 we illustrate

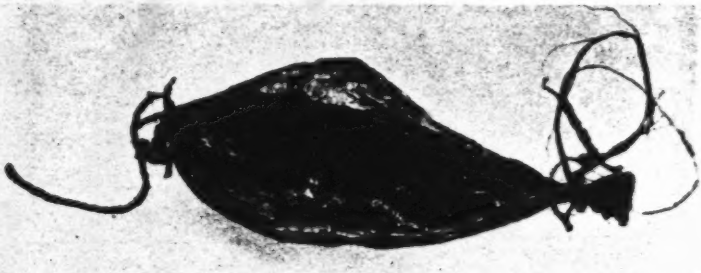

FIG. 58.—Yahgan seal-bladder oil container. Length, 7¼ in. (14/2338)

an oil container of seal-gut. Red paint they habitually stored in small sacks (*yái*) made from the throats of seal (fig. 54, *c*). A recent invention is the otter-tail pouch (*yeten*) employed at the present time for carrying tobacco.

10. BASKETS.—All the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego and the west coast of Chile to the north make baskets. This art is probably the most intricate technological achievement of the Yahgan, Alacaluf, and Chono, so that we shall consider the making of baskets in some detail. Among the Yahgan, the writer found that four types were manufactured, of which only one has been adequately described. Two of these are based on half-hitches around a coiled foundation; one has half-hitches without foundation; while the fourth, employed as a dip-net, is a wrapped stitch.

The material used for all four kinds of baskets is a native grass

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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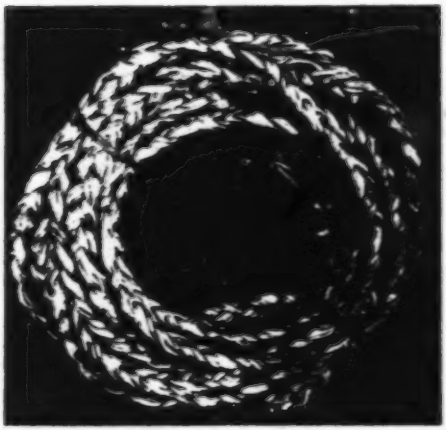

FIG. 77.—Yahgan grass rope. Diameter of coil, 5½ in. (14/2349)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was paddled in to the beach, bow-on, and the man of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then paddled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, moored it, and swam ashore. As a result all the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because hauling it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoes, however, were a different proposition, so for them runways were made by removing the stones (pl. XI). Stakes were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoes were tied. Campsites used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

FIG. 78.—Yahgan bark bailer. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

WEAPONS AND METHODS OF HUNTING

SPEARS

Yahgan weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as import-

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

barbed head (*aunáa*) was used (fig. 81, *a*); in the west a double-barbed form (fig. 81, *b*) was employed. In both regions, however, the head had a flat-base tang with an expanded foot.

In assembling the weapon, the tang of the spearhead was inserted in a slot which ran completely through the head of the shaft, where it was loosely lashed by an encircling seal-hide thong (*tuuuudru*). It was held in place by a second thong (*tamutú*) tied to the tang and attached to the shaft two or three feet from the head. As illustrated in fig. 82, *a*, this thong was twisted until its length was lessened and it acted as a spring to hold the butt of the tang firmly against the bottom of the slot in the spearhead. The tension of this thong was a matter of constant adjustment, for it varied according to the wetness or dryness of the thong and even with the state of the weather.

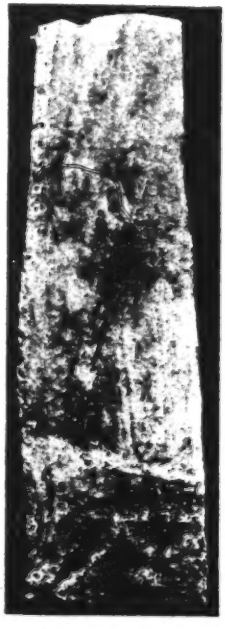

FIG. 83.—Yahgan spearpoint case. Height, 14 in. (14/2370)

When the seal-spear had been buried in the flesh of a porpoise, whale, or seal, the point promptly pulled out of the socket and the shaft then acted as a drag, as shown in fig. 82, *c*. But owing to the fact that the thong from the shaft to the head was tied near one end of the shaft, it dragged at an acute angle, so that sufficient pressure to break the thong or the shaft was not produced. The Yahgan apparently did not employ inflated skins or bladders for this purpose.

3. GUANACO-SPEAR.—In the eastern part of Beagle channel and on Lennox and New islands the Yahgan hunted the guanaco with a special kind of spearpoint (*wunaí*), shown in fig. 81, *c*. It resembles the seal-spear in having a single barb, but lacks the projection seen on the seal-spear's tang. It was lashed on the light hexagonal shaft of a fish-spear. This kind of weapon apparently was in use only among the eastern Yahgan, for it was unknown to Messrs. William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence. The example illustrated was obtained from a Lennox islander. To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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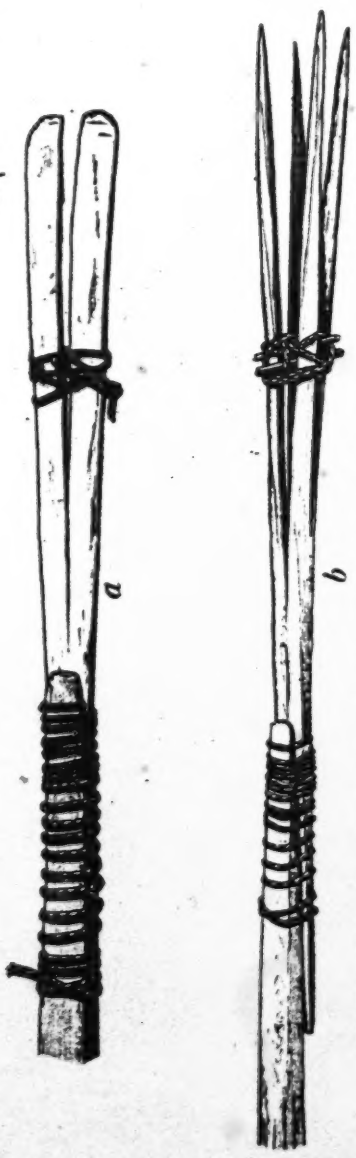

FIG. 84.—Yahgan limpet-spear (*a*) and crab-spear (*b*). Length of heads, 16½ and 19½ in. (14/2271, 2272)

hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him.

The three spear types described all had bone points, specialized in type but of approximately the same length. To carry the extra points that might be needed were the one in use to become lost, the Yahgan employed a small case made of seal-hide with the hair side inward. Old-time containers were simply a rectangle of skin folded double and sewn up the side and bottom (fig. 83). In recent years the Yahgan have followed the pattern of the Ona quiver (fig. 33) and have inserted a small oval piece of hide at the bottom of the case.

4. CRAB AND SEA-URCHIN SPEAR.—As shown in fig. 79, *e*, this spear (*akwisimána*) was considerably longer than the other Yahgan spears, for it was designed to secure crabs and sea-urchins under water.

The shaft was not octagonal like the other spears considered, but was round. It was covered with minute flutes like the Ona bow, but they were not so carefully worked.

The head of the crab-spear (*sita*) was a piece of yellow barberry wood split at one

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

coals witnessed by Rev. Thomas Bridges (1893, p. 238) may have been part of this training.

Graduation from the shaman school did not insure a successful professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the individual's reputation be established. It seems that there was much competition among the medicine-men, and several early observers note a tendency of almost all the older people to work cures, to prophesy, etc.

FIG. 94.—Yahgan shaman's bag. Diameter, 11 in. (14/2337)

In fig. 94 is illustrated the guanaco-hide bag in which the shaman carried his impedimenta. The contents were diadems of heron-plumes and of kelp-goose down, and white paint. To these doubtless should be added a number of small hard objects to be shown to the sick as the cause of their pain.

DEATH

When death took place the corpse was wrapped in old seal-skins and buried outside of the house within twenty-four hours. If the ground were frozen, the corpse might be covered with stones and shrubs to keep off dogs and foxes, or it might be buried in a cave or on a small island. Hyades (1891, p. 379) says that when death occurred far from home the body was carried into the woods and cremated. This was done that the bones might not fall into the hands of enemies and be made into harpoon-points.

For mourning the family of the defunct covered themselves with

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Yahgan SH6

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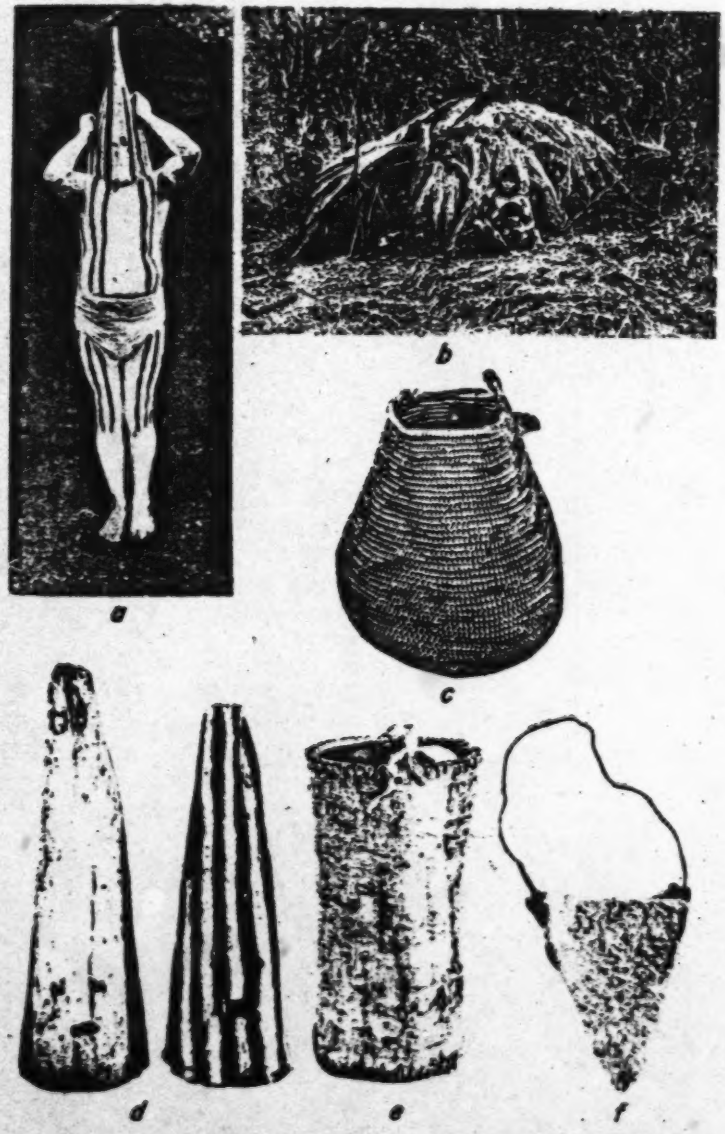

PLATE 32.—Yahgan life and manufactures. a, Masked Kina spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 4); b, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 20); c, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); d, bark masks used in Kina rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); e, bark bucket, height 13½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 55); f, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

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